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# AN APPEAL FOR A UNITED PACIFISM

By HENRI LA FONTAINE

President of the International Peace Bureau

*Unité! Unité! Unité!*  
*In Unity is Strength!*

IT IS of the highest importance that, as soon as the actual war is over, all the forces anxious to promote a lasting and definite peace shall be already grouped and co-ordinated. It will be necessary to have them ready to act at once with an irresistible power. But in order that it be so it is needful, tremendously needful, that all the leagues, societies, associations, and groups, international as well as national, should unite and plan together to strike as one man. At this very hour, however, this is possible only in neutral countries; and among the neutral countries the United States of America seems the most able, thanks to its cosmopolitan population, its remoteness from the battlefields, and its resources, to promote such a concentration of efforts.

There are now in the United States about fifteen main organizations and federations devoted to pacifist aims,\* which have expressed their willingness to support all efforts towards a lasting and definitive peace. Would it, indeed, be impossible to form with all these units, with true and steady cohesion, a tremendous army, numerous and disciplined, willingly and purposely disciplined? We have the firm conviction that overwhelming masses of the American people are inclined and ready to enlist under the pacifist banner; but they are puzzled and wavering, because of the multifarious associations beseeching their co-operation. They feel instinctively that here is an actual scattering of forces that will hamper and weaken all serious action and any pressure on governments and their diplomats on that day when the representatives of the States will gather to restore peace to the world. And so they refrain from acting.

People will ask on what basis a more satisfactory co-operation could be realized. We deem that a common platform can be adopted, a common propaganda organized, a common action prepared, thoroughly and carefully, and that this work should be started without delay.

## THE PLATFORM.

This platform should, in our opinion, contain two main elements: a declaration of the rights and duties of the States and a scheme for the organization of the Society of States. Already the Pan American Institute

\* American Peace Society, World Peace Foundation, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, American Association for International Conciliation, League to Enforce Peace, American Interparliamentary Group, Women's Peace Party, World Court League, School Peace League, Federation of International Polity Clubs, Women Workers to Promote Permanent Peace, Lake Mohonk Conference, World Alliance of the Churches to Promote International Friendship, Church Peace Union, American League to Limit Armaments, American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, American Federation of Labor.

of International Law has adopted such a declaration. This appeared on page 63 of the March number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. Why not endorse it as it is, as a working platform, even though it may not solve the problem as completely as some might wish?

As for the organization of the Society of States, unanimous opinion points to an international judiciary which might be formed of the now existing Permanent Court of Arbitration, an international court of justice, a permanent commission of inquiry, and an international council of conciliation. To this should be added a conference of States, as a law-making agency, and also some central administrative council to co-ordinate the international boards and unions already in activity and to promote the creation of new ones. Of these latter there are at present nineteen—such as the Universal Postal Union, the International Sanitary Union, the International Geodetic Union, etc. The preparation of reports upon these various details and the work of projecting them could be intrusted to some experts or special committees connected with the work already done by the Central Organization for a Durable Peace at The Hague.

## THE PROPAGANDA.

Propaganda should be organized according to a well-defined plan. Work could be easily apportioned among the federated groups, which are already in touch with the churches, the trade unions, the women's clubs, the chambers of commerce, the universities, the schools, and the parliamentarians. The usefulness of such an understanding will be immediately obvious on account of its publicity. A special committee formed out of members of the societies already engaged in such work could function adequately in concentrating the efforts of the rest. The publicity, through the press, could be enlarged and systematized with the aid of some devoted experts, thus solving a problem which is for the separate groups a most puzzling and difficult one.

The effectiveness of the petitioning, which ought to be organized on an unprecedented scale, can also only be attained by a concerted action. The undoubted impression made by the petitions sent to the Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 should encourage the greatest effort in this line. A minute study should be made of the measures to be applied, of possible collaborations, and of the method by which such a movement may be started. The vast petitioning is only one of the features to be considered. A vigorous campaign should be opened at once and carried on without rest till the war is over to arouse universal public opinion. Lectures and addresses must be drafted; slides, posters, pictures, and leaflets prepared and placed at the disposition of the speakers and the propagandists. To perform such a work and to get the right men to undertake it, to concentrate the forces now available, is a pressing necessity. It would be a waste of resources, efforts, and skill to have the groups, isolated as they are, attempt alone and anew so large an enterprise.

Propaganda must be organized outside of the United States as well. A committee for foreign propaganda must be formed, which committee should be subdivided into three sub-committees, corresponding to the three groups of nations to be considered: the South American group, the group of the autonomous colonies, and the group of the European neutral countries. Literature must be prepared, printed, and circulated, and possibly special lecturers sent out or supported.

#### FINAL ACTION.

All these endeavors are only preparatory to the final action, to the last stroke, the decisive blow. What is to be done when the diplomats of the warring peoples and of the neutral nations shall meet? Action must then be taken upon the several governments. Our spokesmen must be ready—men of high standing, high spirit, and high mind, prepared, educated, trained—in each capital of the world. Preparations must be complete for the lesser activities, such as parades and impressive ceremonies, to stir up the masses and impress the rulers. Action must be taken directly upon the diplomats. Our representatives, the most brilliant minds among us, must be sent to the scene of the peace negotiations. There they ought to be received with due solemnity, supported, as they will be, by the general sympathies of all the nations. They should be able to speak and to write, not only for the diplomats, but for the people at large. The most elaborate service of press and telegraph should be placed at their disposal. They should publish their own

paper, if possible in different tongues, edited by the most intelligent experts. They should regard themselves as mouthpieces of humanity, to be listened to and understood wherever civilized man may hear and read.

We must take action upon the belligerent countries themselves. Prejudices and hatreds, misconceptions, and misunderstandings will tend to prevail amongst all these peoples, depressed as they will be by the unspeakable sufferings and the tremendous losses they have undergone. Will reason be able to temper these feelings? Soothing hands and soothing words will be necessary, from men and women imbued with the spirit of brotherhood and the international mind. For this task also preparedness is needed. Aid has been given lavishly to the wounded, to the starving, and the destitute—material aid. We must be ready in this new emergency to aid morally and mentally.

#### APPEAL.

This, then, is the appeal. It is a heartfelt appeal, made by one of those who share that high responsibility of insuring the triumph of our lofty ideal. If it remain unheeded, however, the responsibility will rest also upon those who are deaf, dumb and inert before this crisis in the peace movement. But we hope that, condensed and brief as the appeal is, it will reach the hearts and the brains of every pacifist in this country and abroad, and that, in a near future, we shall have one army and one staff.

Then will victory be ours!

## THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

(The American Peace Society is, in effect, a League to Invite Peace. It differs from the League to Enforce Peace in its firm belief that the use of force to compel nations to arbitrate their differences is impracticable, and that the force philosophy endangers the success of the whole scheme of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Yet both organizations are striving for the same general end of world peace through the establishment of international legislative and judicial machinery, and for this reason a spirit of mutual understanding and amity should prevail between them. The editors of *The Advocate of Peace* are therefore pleased to present to their readers so able a discussion for and against the aims of the League as appears in the following articles by Mr. Marburg and Mr. Snow.)

### A REPLY TO CRITICS

By THEODORE MARBURG, M. A., LL. D.\*

**T**HE League to Enforce Peace welcomes criticism; its sponsors feel that criticism will only serve to bring out the strength of its case.

Though the platform may lack details and elaboration, it does not lack definition. Nor has there been lack of study and public discussion of its possible workings. We have to overcome the initial difficulty of getting the powers to agree to any plan. Therefore, the simplicity of this one. It is felt that if the nations can be gotten to subscribe to its fundamental principles, the envoys charged with the duty of perfecting the plan will be equal to all questions of detail, program, and organization. The plan contemplates "not a league of some

States against others, but a union of as many as possible in their common interest."

The central idea of the League is that wars are the result of the condition of international anarchy out of which the world has never yet risen; that they will not cease until justice prevails, and that justice cannot triumph until the world organizes for justice. We find within the modern State certain institutions, such as legislature, courts, and executive, which aim to prevent strife among men and to promote the general welfare by promoting legal and social justice and by enlarging opportunity. This system was applied to the States, originally sovereign entities, composing the American Union. Entering the union involved a certain surrender of sovereignty and independence and a sacrifice of the principle of equality in the unequal representation in the lower house of the Federal legislature. The interests of the States, economic and other, had often clashed, and resort to arms between them had not been unknown. Because of this fact some of them were slow to consent to the plan. But the workings of the Continental Government, crude as it was, convinced men that

\* Mr. Marburg's article is based on remarks before the Academy of Political and Social Science, April 27, the Mohonk Conference, May 17, and the meeting of the League to Enforce Peace in Washington, D. C., May 27. Mr. Snow's contribution to the discussion also is the substance of an address delivered before the Mohonk Conference.